

# 28th Anniversary of the SUCI Observed

## WITH GREAT ENTHUSIASM THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

24th April, the 28th Foundation Day of SUCI—was observed in a befitting manner and with solemnity. This year, the day was observed, for obvious reasons, instead of central gathering at Calcutta, through numerous morning marches (Prabhatpheri) and flag-hoisting ceremonies at all places of Party activities, reaching grass-root levels in the villages and urban areas in different states, throughout the country.

On this occasion, at every place of celebration with tremendous enthusiasm, the Red Flag was hoisted and a ten-point pledge was read out and accepted collectively. Also at different places, "Prabhatpheri", singing the song on 24th April and on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher and guide, came out and traversed different localities in the morning of the day which aroused unprecedented enthusiasms and admirations from among the people in general.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, Member of the Central Committee of SUCI hoisted the Red Flag at 8-00 in the morning and read out the 10-Point pledge at the Party's headquarter at Calcutta. Participating in the flag hoisting ceremony at the headquarter several hundred members of Komsomol (The Young Communist Wing of SUCI) saluted the Red Flag in a March Past Parade. The headquarter was attractively decorated with red festoons and 28 red flags indicating the 28th anniversary of the party. At all the Offices of the Party, throughout the country, Red Flag was hoisted. According to the information reached at the headquarter up to the time of going to the press, the "Foundation Day" celebrations were held at 5796 places covering the States of Delhi, Haryana, Madhya

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## MAY DAY

It will be an unpardonable mistake to think that the real significance of the historic May Day lies in the realisation of some democratic or trade union demands by the workers, particularly the demand for the reduction of working hours to eight hours a day—recognised for the first time in the history of human civilisation and achieved through bloodshed and sacrifice. Of

very gain by the workers when workers' movement was yet to develop, so it will be a sheer opportunism to miss that the sublime significance of the historic May Day can find its best expression in a society where the workers are themselves the masters and which is free from the exploitation of man by man safeguarding the very rightful place of the workers in the society.

landmark in the contemporary world politics. It has proved to the hilt, as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, our beloved leader and teacher has pointed out, that no nation can be crushed to the ground even by bombing, as the American imperialists did in Vietnam, if it does not lose its high standard of morality and does not fail



Comrade Nihar Mukherjee reading out the Pledge at the ceremony of the Central Office.



Members of the Komsomol (Young Communist Wing of SUCI) carrying a kingsize Party emblem in 'Prabhatpheri' at the Lenin Sarani in front of the Central Office.

Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, U.P., Assam, Meghalaya, Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal etc.

This year, on the eve of the 28th anniversary a month long programme in the first phase was adopted inclusive of (i) ideological campaign through the selling of party literatures and organs by mobile squads through door-to-door approach and on (ii) vindication of party's glorious role and correct evaluation through thousands of group sittings and discussions starting from village level to Mahalla, Anchal, Ward etc. and also campaign for extensive (Contd. to Page 4)

course, it was the first organised protest of the workers against tyranny and oppression which created the very sense that it is not through appeal and appeasement but through organised movement alone that the workers can establish their just right. As it will be wrong to undermine the

This entrusts upon the revolutionary forces the great responsibility of carrying forward the call of May Day to abolition of all sorts of exploitation from the society.

The defeat of American imperialism, the bastion of international reaction, at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese people is a great

to find out, accept and apply the correct base political line of the proletariat. In fact the ignominious defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam as a sequel to protracted heroic battle of the people coupled with the growing people's movement inside America against the (Contd. to Page 5)

# TRADE UNIONS—THEIR PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

In the class-divided bourgeois societies, workers being the oppressed and exploited, organise themselves in their primary organisation—trade unions to collectively defend their right to life and human conditions of existence. As such, as Marx pointed out: "To say that the interests of capital and those of the workers are one and the same is only to say that capital and wage-labourer are two sides of one and the same relation .....

As long as the wage-worker is a wage-worker, his lot depends on capital. That is the much vaunted community of interests between worker and capitalist. "(Marx-Engels—Selected Works in three Vols.—Vol.2, p. 163)

That is why, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, General Secretary of our party and our beloved leader and teacher has time and again imparted to us the valuable teaching that if the aims and objects of trade union movement are confined within the narrow sphere of economism-reformism then they can never bring an end to the position of workers in capitalist societies as slaves to capitalist exploitation, they would never succeed in transforming the trade unions into "Schools of Communism" as Marx envisioned, which means in clear terms, to train up the workers as class-conscious truly revolutionary characters who alone can lead and conduct the revolutionary movement for real emancipation from capitalist exploitative system.

## Trade Unions in pre-monopoly stage of capitalism

While drafting a report under the caption, "Trade Unions-their past, present and future", in the General Council at the Geneva Congress of 1866, Marx wrote:

"The trade unions, uniting the wage workers and putting an end to the mutual competition which weakens them, make it possible for them to escape from the unfavourable situation in which the units of labour power are placed in face of concentrated force of capital. The immediate task of the trade unions is restricted to the needs of the daily struggle between labour and capital—in a word, to questions of wages and working hours. On the other hand, the trade unions involuntarily became organising centres for the working class, just as in the middle Ages, the Communes and Municipalities served as centres of organisation for the bourgeoisie. While, however, the trade unions are absolutely indispensable in the daily struggle between labour and capital, still more important is their aspect as instruments for transforming the system of wage-labour

## and for overthrowing the dictatorship of capital.

"At the present time, the trade unions are too much concerned with the problems of immediate struggle and do not sufficiently recognise the necessity for grappling with the very foundations of capitalist system. In this respect, however, there has already been a change for the better.....Hence forward, the trade unions in addition to carrying on the struggle against capitalist oppression must consciously function as organising centres for the working-class in its desire to achieve the sublime purpose of complete emancipation. The unions must support every social and political movement tending in this direction. Marching forward as the leaders, the champions, the representatives of the whole working class, they will attract to their side all the proletarians, even the most backwards, even the agricultural workers."—(Quoted in R. P. Dutt's "The Internationale"-1964 ed., p. 62-emphasis added)

But however much, Marx and the General Council of 1886 hoped that

"there has been a change for the better" in labour movement, that hope did not materialise. Otherwise, why Engels was writing just after a decade, to Bernstein (who still then did not join the band of revisionists and became their theoretical proponent) on 17th June, 1879 about the British Labour movement in such words: "The British Labour movement is today and for many years has been working in a narrow circle of strikes for higher wages and shorter hours without finding a solution." And this trend was not merely true with the British Labour movement but also with such movement in all other capitalist countries. However, this is a matter we put off for treatment, later.

Let us now, come to the question of the status of the trade union in the bourgeois countries which have evolved in the historic process of struggles due to basic antagonism of interests between the two classes—the bourgeoisie as the exploiting ruling class and the workers being the exploited class who are under the rule of capital.

An important advantage gained by the working people through their century-old struggles is undoubtedly, their right to combine into trade unions, a right which is internationally recognised to-day, in as much as Convention 87 of the International Labour Organisation speaks of fundamental freedom of association and the defence of the right to organise and Convention 98 says on the right to organise and carry on collective bargaining.

In most of the capitalist countries, the State now, formally recognises the working peoples' right to fight for better life and better working conditions. In France, Italy and the West German Lands, the right to strike has been given formal recognition in the Constitutions and formal recognition of this right finds place in the trade union acts in other

bourgeois countries. A certain norm and conduct of the government towards workers' grievances and trade union rights was being followed in the pre-monopoly stage of capitalism. But behind this formal recognition of the rights lies century-long hard struggles of the working people.

In the capitalist countries, the trade unions had always to defend their right to exist for betterment of living conditions of the working people in persistent struggles against individual employers and their associations. Individual employers have always regarded the trade unions and their struggles in defence of workers' rights as unwanted 'encroachments' on their prerogatives as owners of means of production. The capitalists have always been interested in weakening the trade unions by trying to reduce their influence and make them pursue a policy most advantageous to the employers.

Though, in capitalist countries, the working peoples' initiative in joint actions and collective bargaining for higher pay and improvements on working conditions does not affect the economic, financial and technical aspects of an enterprise's operations which continue to be within the employers' terms of reference.

Before the First World War therefore, only a few bourgeois countries legally recognised some of these rights and the workers largely exercised them in defiance of legislation. When the world was split into two systems—capitalist and socialist—the bourgeoisie as a class, out of fear of revolution and in order to channelise labour movement to narrow-spheres of economism-reformism gave formal recognition to the rights of the workers' organisations and incorporated them in some countries, into basic constitutional rights and freedom.

The capitalists as a

class sensed the danger in the growing impact of revolutionary ideology of Marxism on the oppressed and exploited working people. As a class, therefore, they thought it prudent to give formal recognition to the workers' rights to organise and fight for bargains on economic issues and service conditions against their employers. As a class, therefore, the bourgeoisie allowed the trade unions to grow as agents of collective bargaining and backed, through various devices, the social-democratic leaders to come in the leadership of labour movement to act as their trusted agents—as the 'compromising force' between labour and capital. The workers were, thus encouraged in every possible ways by the bourgeoisie and their henchmen to remain slaves to capitalist exploitation never to aspire to break the shackles of the exploitative production system as class-conscious proletariat. The aim of bourgeois reformism has always been to make the oppressed workers content with occasional crumbs thrown to them by the capitalists. Over the last fifty years or so, there has, therefore, been a trend towards labour legislation acquiring greater importance in industrial relations.

Our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us that the bourgeois-humanist thinkers, the utilitarians, the Fabians—those who propagated the idea of bourgeois reformism or in other words, the idea of reforming capitalism by welfare measures without doing away with capitalist motive force of production and relation of production have always championed the cause of "free" trade unionism and even the so-called militant trade unionism. Their support and encouragement to trade unions have always been dictated by the

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ulterior motive that remaining in so-called 'free' trade unions, that is to say, remaining completely aloof to revolutionary movements, the workers would be solely engaged in occasional bargaining on economic issues or service conditions with the capitalists. The revisionist leadership of the working class movement would thereby act as the mainstay of capitalism by disciplining the workers to capitalist exploitation on behalf of the capitalists. Further, the workers would by this process, be lulled to the myth of their well-beings and even 'socialism' through reforms or petty concessions from the capitalists, without in any way disturbing the capitalist motive force of production and relation of production.

Naturally, in the era of pre-monopoly capitalist Laissez-faire economy, slogans were raised by the capitalists themselves, for non-interference of the government in industrial relations between capital and labour. It was the time for collective bargaining made 'freely' by the employers and trade unions, having regard to relative bargaining strength. The policy of laissez-faire in industrial-relations was regarded, as guarantee of the capitalist right 'freely' to regulate labour relations with the workers and the bourgeois states were not asked to interfere in this relations. The 'voluntary agreements' on the employment of labour, thus reached enabled the capitalists to impose the most shackling working conditions on the toiling people.

It was thus a period, in the first half of the 20th century, writes one writer, when in capitalist countries like Great Britain the "principle of collective laissez-faire" expressed itself in "aversion to legislative interference, its disinclination to rely on legal sanctions, its almost passionate belief on the autonomy of industrial

forces".

(Prof. Otto Kahn Freund —"Labour Laws", Laws and Opinion in England in 20th century-London-1959 p. 221)

Historical facts, therefore, clearly show that the trade unions have never received any functions from the bourgeois states that formerly were in their province, as they are alleging today as a plea to rob the workers of their hard-earned gains. After a persistent and lengthy struggle the workers forced the capitalists to recognise their organisations and negotiate collective agreements with them. The employer had to come into contact with trade unions to decide working conditions and settle labour disputes and co-ordinate with them on questions, which he had formerly solved by himself.

So, in capitalist countries, trade union organisations and the practice of negotiating collective agreements did not arise from state legislations, at first. The bourgeoisie, as individual employers, long resisted the formation and activities of trade unions and it was only after hard struggles that the workers succeeded in making the bourgeois state legalise the rights which they already exercised in practice.

But even after various labour legislations, the fundamental social condition of the working class or in other words the distributive justice of the fruits of labour, in relation to total production, has not changed materially, however much have been the drum-beatings of the bourgeoisie and their servitors to the contrary.

The standards of working conditions and pay established by the state are often based on the potentialities of small employers, although very small firms and enterprises in some economic sectors (agriculture and forestry for instance) occasionally do come within the sphere of national labour standards. On the whole, state norms do not conform to economic realities and even far

far short of actual working conditions.

This fact will be evident from a cursory glance over the data supplied by the bourgeois governments. We have at our hands, the data supplied by the Government of India. Let us quote some relevant data to drive home our point about distributive justice. The data, presented, hereunder, have been prepared by the Annual Survey of Industries (A.S.I. Census) for eleven years from 1959 to 1970.

| Structure of Industries : |                  |                                 | Basic Data : All India (All Industries) |                               |                              |                                         |
|---------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Year                      | No. of Factories | Productive Capital (Rs. crores) | Total employment (in 000.)              | Total emoluments (Rs. Crores) | Value of output (Rs. crores) | Value added by manufacture (Rs. crores) |
| (1)                       | (2)              | (3)                             | (4)                                     | (5)                           | (6)                          | (7)                                     |
| 1959                      | 8,607            | 1,737                           | 2,870                                   | 438                           | 2,691                        | 759                                     |
| 1965                      | 13,425           | 6,444                           | 3,986                                   | 970                           | 6,492                        | 1,700                                   |
| 1970                      | 13,598           | 11,106                          | 4,257                                   | 1,517                         | 11,399                       | 2,878                                   |

Add to these, a few more data from A.S.I. Census figures :

| Item                                         | 1959  | 1965  | 1970  |
|----------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. Output per factory (Rs. lakhs)            | 37.55 | 48.49 | 85.84 |
| 2. Value added per factory (Rs. lakhs)       | 10.30 | 12.72 | 21.67 |
| 3. Value added per employee (Rs.)            | 2.977 | 4,282 | 6,762 |
| 4. Emoluments per employee (Rs.)             | 1,658 | 2,435 | 3,564 |
| 5. Share of value added in output (p.c.)     | 27.5  | 26.3  | 25.3  |
| 6. Share of emoluments in value added (p.c.) | 55.8  | 36.8  | 52.7  |
| 7. Share of emoluments in output (p.c.)      | 15.3  | 14.9  | 13.3  |

Quoted in "The Economic Times Annual-'75"

In the bourgeois countries, the bourgeois politicians have always tried to confuse the working people by the oft-repeated myth that the state is a 'neutral agency' or that the state is above internal social conflicts in as much as it serves not merely sectional interests but the 'country as a whole' and the 'national interest'.

But as the British writer, Blackburn says :

"The strategy of working within the confines of the existing economic system which forms part of the consensus of all the parliamentary parties—thus entails a critical constraint: the need to maintain the 'confidence of industry' or more accurately of industrialists"—(The unequal Society-Blackburn-London-1967)

Another British writer R. Millibund writes :

"On innumerable occasions, and in all capitalist countries, governments have played a decisive role

in defeating strikes, often by invocation of the coercive power of the state and the use of naked violence, and the fact that they have done so in the name of the national interest, law and order, constitutional government, the protection of the public etc. rather than simply to support employers, has not made that intervention any the less useful to these employers".

(The state in capitalist society—R. Millibund-London-1969.)

As such : "The idea that the state is above sectional conflicts and plays a 'neutral' role in industrial relations is therefore mistaken; but it is of great ideological importance. When the government intervenes in a dispute, on the side of the employer any attempt by the Union concerned to stand firm can be presented as 'undemocratic' and 'a challenge to the constitution'. Where trade unionists themselves regard the state as 'neutral', their resolve is likely to crumble before such an ideological offensive". —(Richard Hyman-'Strikes', Fontana—Collins, 1972-p 164)

So, as far back as in 1891, Engels was writing :

"The organisation of the workers and their constantly growing resistance will probably check the increase of misery to a certain extent. However, what certainly does increase is the insecurity of existence." (Selected works in 3-vols.,

Vol.—3-p. 431-italics in original)

But Engels was writing in the perspective of pre-monopoly competitive capitalism. To-day, in the monopoly stage, particularly when capitalism is passing through the third phase of intense general crisis, workers can neither check increasing miseries nor the increasing insecurity in the bourgeois countries as would be obvious from bare facts.

## Trade Unions In the Third Phase of Intense General crisis of Capitalism.

During the third phase of intense general crisis of capitalism the bourgeois states' direct intervention in labour-capital-relations has been on the increase. The workers, pressed by the severity of crisis that has engulfed the entire capitalist world while struggling for the legislations to protect labour, limit the employers' tyranny, establish guaranteed minimum wages, consolidate the rights of their organisations are now confronted with the coercive apparatus of the bourgeois states.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era has taught us that fascism has become the common characteristic feature in all the capitalist countries, relatively developed or under-developed, after the

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second world war when the world capitalist market lost its relative stability and entered into third phase of general crisis. And, as Comrade Ghosh has shown: "The distinguishing features of fascism, namely, economic centralisation, maximum concentration of political power in the state, administrative rigid firmness, cultural regimentation and identification of the state with the interests of the monopolists and thereby making the state subservient to the interest of the monopolists are discernible, no doubt, in varying degrees, in all the capitalist countries of the world, not excluding the backward countries in Asia and Africa."....."And the same process of concentration of private capital, development of state capital, fusion of the two into state monopoly capitalism, thereby reducing the state subservient to the monopolists and reduction to the minimum of mutual competition between individual capitalists through planning .....to save the aggregate interests of the capitalist class.....as is found in the advanced capitalist countries, is at work in the backward countries also, though for different purpose" (Comrade Shibdas Ghosh "Call of the Hour" July 1, '62).

So, the fusion of the private monopoly capital with state capital, emergence of the bourgeois state as the biggest capitalist having at its disposal the key industries and establishments which employ large part of the country's working people are laying the rock-bottom foundation of fascist economy. The bourgeois state, therefore, in this third stage of intense general crisis of capitalism is directly interfering in the regulation of labour relations and especially in the settlement of collective and individual labour disputes.

And for this reason, Comrade Ghosh, our beloved leader has warned us that "Fascism is much more dangerous than that of any kind of naked dicta-

torship, even from military dictatorship, in so far as it strives to achieve national unity in favour of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary proletariat under the cover of pseudo-radical slogans and that fascism in most of the cases appears in a most deceptive way." [Quoted in 'On Fascism'—Our publication p. 17]

So, at a time when the world is split into two opposing social systems, when capitalism is passing through third stage of intense general crisis, and when the influence of revolutionary ideology of the proletariat is spreading fast amongst the working people in the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie is paying special importance and concentrating more on fascist devices in its bid to confuse the workers' class-consciousness to conciliate them with the help of revisionist leadership, to the system of capitalist exploitation than always applying brutal suppression.

In its ideological offensive against the working people by deliberately misinterpreting the new phenomena in the capitalist world, the bourgeois ideologists and politicians try to make out, however, vainly, that the nature of modern capitalist society and capitalist relations has radically changed and try to delude the people into the belief that capitalism is no longer the exploiting system, but a system of equality, democratic freedoms and justice. They maintain that the bourgeois state of today, shows concern not only for the well-being of all the people but largely for the interests of the poorly provided sections of the population and that socialism can be attained within the bourgeois productive system by reforms. The bourgeoisie, is, therefore, trying to conceal the reality of antagonism of class-interests between the exploiter and exploited, the capitalists and wage-labours, in its propaganda campaign or ideological counter-offensives by substituting

the so-called theory of class-collaboration or 'social partnership' between the opposing classes for the scientific concept of class-struggle. They are devising various schemes for this purpose.

The bourgeoisie, has taken for granted, the existence of trade unions and is now trying to use them as tools against the workers themselves by corrupting their leaderships, ideologically-politically. We will try to recount some of these methods and devices as also the historic experiences drawn from them. Let us, for the moment, note, in passing, that in the third phase of intense crisis of world capitalism, the monopolists prefer to have complete sway over the working people and want to solve the problems they face, with the sole objective of securing maximum profit. In doing so, when they feel that they cannot solve themselves, this specific problem, they call for the use of state machinery to forcibly implement a policy that guards their basic interest. This fact has been given recognition to, very candidly, by a British industrialist and commentator, Michael Shanks who had the following to say:

"The need at present is for prices to be allowed to rise, while wages are held back.....In other words, what is urgently required in the United Kingdom's economy at the present time is a redistribution of national income away from wages and in favour of profits. It is not perhaps surprising that neither party (Tory and Labour—Writer) is very anxious to spell out this awkward but inescapable fact of economic life." (The Times—16th June 1970, quoted in Hyman's book 'Strikes').

The Conservatives, Labour and Liberal parties in Great Britain were in agreement on this question during the pre-election campaign in 1966. They all promised to ensure the

strongest co-operation between Labour and Capital when they assumed power. It became commonplace for the British Press to make statements on the impossibility of "return to a situation in which collective bargains are made freely ...by employers and trade

unions, having regard only to relative bargaining strength and not to the interests of the consumers and the country, or to the existing economic situation." (E. McCullough's article in British Journal of Industrial Relations—'67)

An American industrialist

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circulation of the Party's emblem and the collection of Party fund and people from all walks of life responded magnificently to this programme throughout the country. Observing the great response and enthusiasm of the people to this programme on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee extended warm congratulations to the workers, peasants, students, youths and all sections of toiling people of the country.

Throughout the length and breadth of the country in thousands regional sittings, thousands and thousands of workers, peasants, students, youths, intellectuals and different other sections of the toiling people gathered on this auspicious occasion to recapitulate the glorious role and correct evaluations of our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, the name that was not known even to a handful of citizens of this vast country on the day it was founded 28 years ago. But the Socialist Unity Centre of India is a name that today inspires the toiling and down-trodden millions of the country with revolutionary fervour and determination, revolutionary courage and dedication in their struggle for emancipation from the yoke of capitalist oppression and exploitation. Down-trodden and toiling millions of the country are more and more coming to realise that it is SUCI and no other party that is capable of leading them towards their goal, their emancipation from the shackles of economic, political, cultural exploitation

of capitalism. The down-trodden and toiling millions are realising from their daily experiences that it is only SUCI and no other party—whatever may be their claims and pseudo-revolutionary phrase-mongering—that, under the genius leadership of one of the eminent marxist thinkers of the era, the beloved leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has developed as the real working class party following the correct methodology and the correct Marxist method of formation of a working class party. The down-trodden toiling millions of the country, through their experiences are gradually more and more realising that SUCI is their only hope, SUCI is their only friend, SUCI is their only leader.

SUCI's strength lies in the fact that the handful revolutionaries from the very inception of the party, under the leadership of the great Marxist thinker Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has never adopted any short-cut method of parroting or blindly copying the thoughts of any leaders or parties. The handful of revolutionaries under the able leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh relied on their own brain and understanding of Marxism-Leninism and applying it in concrete condition of our soil has been able to develop, enrich and concretise correctly the science of Marxism-Leninism. Ours is the only Communist party in this country which has always exercised

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Vietnam policy of the American administration besides the mounting surge of anti-imperialist struggles in different countries and the growing economic crisis that reduced the strength and prestige of American dollar—all put together placed American imperialism on the defensive and compelled it to make a shift from the policy of war manoeuvre to peace manoeuvre, however, temporary it may be. This led to the normalisation of relation between America and People's Republic of China and the abandonment of the erstwhile policy of containment of China. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has correctly observed that through the successful conclusion of Vietnamese liberation movement in Indo-China, American Imperialism has become so much cornered and weak that a very favourable situation has again been created for world revolution so much so that to-day revolution is in the offensive. He has also suggested that in order to take full advantage of such a favourable situation and to push the revolutionary movements very rapidly to their successful conclusions, it is imperative to keep the revolutionary struggles and the liberation movements free from the pernicious effect of direct or indirect influence of all variants of revisionism, including revisionism under the garb of revolutionary phrase-mongering. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, our beloved leader and teacher has drawn our attention to the fact that although both revisionism and dogmatism are two main dangers in International Communist movement, but of the two, revisionism constitutes the main danger to-day. It is a pity that in this third phase of intense general crisis of world capitalism when it is facing one crisis after another, and when the international situation is pregnant with the possibility of revolution

the revolutionary movements in different countries, instead of availing of this golden opportunity, is chewing the cud of revisionism-reformism only to the delight of the imperialists-capitalists of the whole world. This underlines the great importance to launch a serious ideological-political struggle against revisionism on an international scale about the danger of which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has warned times without number.

Coming to the national situation we find the same danger of revisionism, even revisionism under the garb of revolutionary phrase-mongering, to persist and pervade practically the entire working class movement. The so-called big parties known as Communists and their trade union organisations have been following, since their inception, a typical social democratic, revisionist or reformist outlook. Not only they have failed to transform the trade union as 'Schools of Communism' but also they have all along placed economic and immediate demands at the top of everything. Naturally, when immediate demand or exigency gets preference over the ultimate objective or when the former becomes divorced from the latter, a movement can no longer remain revolutionary even if it mouths revolutionary slogans. They have reduced trade unions and trade union movements as means to achieve certain opportunistic ends. In fact, these types of trade unions have become the breeding ground of opportunism. To them mass movements are not considered as stepping stones towards emancipation but are viewed as certain devices to attain some privileges. This is a reality which can be ignored only by shutting one's eye and nothing else.

The glorification and celebration of the May Day by the trade union organisations controlled by the ruling class is a matter

of not distant past in our country. It proves on the one hand the growing popularity and the massive sentiment of the common workers associated with the historic May Day, which even the ruling class can ill-afford to ignore, and constitutes on the other a subtle device to hoodwink the workers and confine the significance of May Day to the realisation of the trade union demands alone taking advantage of their low standard of political consciousness. There is no denying the fact that the workers must come forward unitedly to protect the hard-won democratic rights of the workers which are being subjected to serious onslaughts at the hands of the fascistic forces in different capitalist countries, particularly in those where monopoly capitalism has made deep inroad in the economic and administrative set-up. While forging a broad platform against the curtailment of the democratic rights as far as possible, care must be taken to make the workers more and more politically conscious so that they do not fall prey in the hands of those trade union leaders who are nothing but labour aristocrats and are acting as the forces of compromise between labour and capital.

This brings us to the task of finding out the three indispensables—(i) the correct base political line, (ii) the genuine revolutionary party and (iii) organised political power of the people on the edifice of revolutionary culture.

We appeal to the toiling millions of our country to find out that alternative which is gradually but steadily taking shape in the leadership of Socialist Unity Centre of India concretised, developed, enriched and personified through none but Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher and the General Secretary of our Party. Let us not forget for a moment the following lesson of Comrade Ghosh:

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its own brain conducting mass movements and people's struggles and so has been able to give birth to newer and newer methods of works by constantly changing the style of process of work in the face of newer and more and more complicated situations. And this is the reason why SUCI is fast growing and the growth is even faster during the last several months—where as the other pseudo-Marxist parties whose pseudo-revolutionary ramblings filled the streets and maidans just several months back, have now gone completely to the shells and are trying to survive by coming through some clandestine arrangements...

Not only in the sphere of revolutionary movements in our country, but also on the question of ideological leadership in the international communist movement, SUCI has played a great historical role since inception. In our soil, it is SUCI alone which has conducted relentless struggles and defended against the various attacks of the bourgeoisie launched against

**"It is not so much important whether a party speaks of high ideology and lofty ideals; the greatest proof as to whether their ideology is really very high lies in the concrete expression of high standard of morality, culture and ethics reflected by the leaders, workers and supporters in their personal lives, day-to-day activities and political behaviour."**

We are sure that this will provide a valuable and effective guideline to the workers with the help of which they can find out the real revolutionary leadership in our country. The celebration of the historic May Day will be meaningful and successful only when the workers find out this real path.

Marxism on the philosophical plane in the post-Lenin period. In the process of handling the particular contradictions in the international situation and the contradictions in the particular conditions of our country, our leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has further enriched and developed the Marxist ideology and has raised its understanding to a higher level in the post Lenin period. It is he who has for the first time pointed out that the struggle of building up communist character in the present age of decadent and utterly reactionary individualism, has entered a newer historical phase. It is he alone, who showed for the first time through what complex struggles one can acquire a Communist character at this historical stage. He has also enriched, in the face of newer problems and experiences, the teachings of Lenin on the formation of a Communist party, concretisation of collective leadership and democratic centralism.

The way Comrade Shibdas Ghosh by his extraordinary genius, has developed, enriched and raised to a higher level the science of Marxism and co-ordinated all branches of science and knowledge in order to solve the various problems confronting revolutionary life and movements and to determine the path of struggle covering every aspect of human life in the present stage of national and international revolution and the present particular stage of class-struggle, will illumine the path of revolutionary movements not only in the present era but in many more ages to come. To conduct not only revolutionary movements of our country but also to guide the International Communist Movement along the correct path, the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh through which Marxism-Leninism in the present era has been further deve-

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# TRADE UNIONS—THEIR PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

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William Caples, put the matter in precision by observing: "The real choice appears to be among alternate degrees and forms of government regulations, **not between laissez-faire and regulation.**" (Annals of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, 1961 p. 17)

The bourgeois parties are, therefore, keeping their open or hidden pledges to their real masters. In Britain, the Labour Government in June 1967, worked out a new prices and incomes policy which gave greater power to control collective agreements. "By this method, trade unions, are persuaded to acquiesce in self-emasculation by agreeing to negotiate pay increase only within rigid limits, or by tying higher wages and salaries to increased productivity. Within the perspective of the ruling ideology, such policy is manifestly fair since if trade unions hold back 'excessive' pay claims, the employers express their readiness to hold back price increases. But any 'incomes policy' of this sort means, at best, that the relative shares of rich and poor, labour and capital—will be frozen (this is surely a mistaken idea, as the quantum of maximum profit is sure to increase—writer) that the privileged position of the wealthy minority will be consolidated and if the productivity criterion is rigorously enforced then workers will have to pay for their own pay improvements through more dehumanising conditions of labour.

—(Richard Hyman—"Strikes" p. 169)

The Industrial Relations Act of 1971, worked out by the British Conservative government is based on the demands vociferously propagated by the bourgeois newspapers, we have mentioned hereinbefore. The Act is a straight jacket for the trade unions since it confines all the trade union activities to the rigid framework of the rules prescribed by the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie and outlaws

the activities independently carried on by the worker's organisations. It abolished the British workers' most important gains which had been legally recognised over the last 100 years including the Trade Union Act of 1871 and the Trade Disputes Act 1906 and of 1965.

The West German state similarly, is continuing the tradition handed down by the fascists in the matter of labour relations. The fascist trick was consummated in the concept of 'Formed Society' (Formiertein Gesellschaft) enunciated by Ludwig Erhard, the Chancellor of West Germany in 1965. Erhard said: "**The formed society means that it is no longer divided into classes and groups, each of which tries to achieve only its own aims, but that all class notions having been cast aside, it is in essence a collective society based on co-operation between all groups and interests.**" This society whose roots are already evident in the system of social marketing economy is formed not by authoritarian constraint, but by its own internal forces and will, based on the recognition and growing awareness of mutual dependence." (Die Welt, April, 1965)

The German ruling circles did not relinquish the concept of 'formed society' when Erhard resigned. It was embodied in the policy of 'concerted action' (Konzertierte Aktion) during the 'Grand Coalition' government headed by Chancellor Kiesinger. The government used it to draw the trade unions and the employers' associations into realising its economic policy. Moreover, together with the monopolies, the government used the tripartite conferences, held at national and state levels, to secure the trade unions' "Voluntary consent to wage limitations and other anti-working class measures".

The promotion of "Economic Stability and Economic Development

Act" passed in West Germany in May 1967, envisaged the establishment of "wage guidelines" for the trade unions for making their demands on a "voluntary basis."

The bourgeoisie is trying to remove the trade unions from their class position and make them as mere appendage to the bourgeois rule. Aware of the important part that can be played by the trade unions, the monopolists are trying to make the workers' organisation fulfil such functions as can keep the machinery of capitalist exploitation running. The trade unions are called upon to take part in the introduction and development of the latest methods of labour intensification, to support capitalists' labour discipline and prevent the workers from protesting against the employers' tyranny. This they call, 'co-operation' and an expression of 'social partnership'. The consistent defence of the workers' class interests by any trade union is frowned upon as an expression of "outdated ideology" of class struggle, an expression that it is "incompatible" with modern capitalist states' "common interest".

Monopoly capital is taking particular comfort that the revisionist leadership—the 'labour lieutenants' from the social-democratic parties have been their helpful accomplices. The sole object of the bourgeoisie is to emasculate ideologically-politically the organised resistance of the people and any possibility of developing revolutionary labour movement against the growing intensity of exploitation which flows directly from the law of maximum profit of the monopoly stage of capitalism.

It was Lenin, who pointed out, long back, the role of revisionist leadership from the experiences drawn from European labour movement. Lenin wrote: "The revisionists regard as phrase-mongering, all arguments about 'leaps' and about the work-

ing class movement being antagonistic in principle to the whole of the old society. **They regard reforms as partial realisation of socialism.** The anarcho-sindicalists reject "petty work" especially the utilisation of the parliamentary platforms. In practice, the latter tactics amounts to waiting for "great days" along with an inability to muster the forces which create great events. Both of them hinder the thing that is most urgent, namely to unite the workers, in big, powerful and properly functioning organisations capable of functioning well under all circumstances, permeated with the spirit of class struggle, clearly realising their aims and trained in the true Marxist world outlook....

"...an extremely important cause of differences among those taking part in the labour movement lies in changes in the tactics of the ruling classes in general and the bourgeoisie in particular....The first of these is the method of force, the method of supporting all the old and obsolete institutions, the method of irreconcilably rejecting reforms....The second is the method of 'liberation' of steps taken towards the development of political rights, towards reforms, concessions and so forth....**the revisionists declare that the doctrine of class struggle is 'antiquated' or begin to conduct a policy which is in fact a renunciation of the class struggle.** The zigzags of bourgeois tactics intensify revisionism within the labour movement to the point of outright split."

(Lenin—Differences in the European Labour Movement—emphasis added—Marx-Engels- Marxism—1965, Ed. p. 238-40)

Since Lenin wrote this, the crisis in world capitalism has further been accentuated so much so that it has lost the relative stability in world market. Fascism has become the general order in the capitalist world and to face this overall crisis, the

bourgeoisie is adopting various methods of counter offensives and dopes in ideological-political fields to lull the inadequately trained up workers into submission to growingly intensified capitalist exploitation.

The capitalists are introducing as fascist devices, various methods of 'social partnership' with the direct help and co-operation of the revisionist leaderships of social-democratic parties who are controlling the labour movement due to inadequate level of class consciousness of the workers and direct backing of the capitalists and their governments. Some of the methods that are being increasingly attempted by the bourgeoisie include—'Paternalism', 'Human relations', 'Profit sharing', 'Management sharing', 'Joint conciliation machinery', 'Tripartite bodies', 'People's capitalism or capital sharing' etc. How the revisionist leaderships have been giving 'all co-operation' to these devices of the bourgeoisie to cheat the workers and the rich dividends the capitalists are reaping will be obvious from an official report of bourgeois government like France. The report says:

"The sharing system which does not in any way reduce management's powers may further the establishment of new relations between wage earners, represented by the trade unions, and the employers."

(Le Nouvel Observateur No. 142, 1967—italics ours)

Apart from these measures, the bourgeoisie are also resorting to measures of overt pressure and tyranny. Suspension of the right to strike and equating it with so-called restrictions on lock-out is being paraded as an instance of 'equal treatment'. But although those restrictions on the employers are mere eye-wash in as much as they are obeyed more by defaults than by strict adherence,

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# TRADE UNIONS—THEIR PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

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the basic fact remains unaltered that the right to strike can be no stretch of imagination, be equated with the open tyranny of the employers when they keep the workers in forced unemployment through look-out or lay-off. And even in a bourgeois state like West Germany, article 29 of the constitution of the West German land of Hessen, which guarantees the right in strike expressly establishes the illegality of lock-outs.

Bringing to the urgent attention of and rousing the working people of our country to proper understanding of revolutionary consciousness, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era struck a serious note of caution when the so-called militant struggles for increased emoluments and other economic concessions were being conducted with pseudo-militant flair in an attempt to pass them for 'revolutionary' struggles particularly by a big left social-democratic party which poses to be a 'Marxist' party at the time of United Front Ministry in West Bengal which was nothing other than a 'Caretaker' of the capitalist order.

Comrade Ghosh reminded us, then, that the movement for increase in economic benefits or wages was not, by itself, revolutionary in character. The class-conscious proletariat should know that the struggle to dispossess the bourgeoisie of its political power, to bring to an end to capitalist relation of production and motive force of production is the real revolutionary struggle. So, when in the process of conduction of day-to-day struggles, the workers are educated with such revolutionary consciousness that they can happily and unhesitatingly give up demands for wage increases and even wages if and when occasion so demands, in furtherance of revolutionary causes, and

struggle, then and then only, trade unions can truly become the 'School of Communism' as Marx and Lenin taught us to transform them to be so.

But the revisionists, taking advantage of the inadequacy in the level of consciousness of ranks who have been brought up in the tradition of economism-reformism, try to pass pseudo-militant labour movements over economic issues and benefits for so-called revolutionary struggles.

Comrade Ghosh cautioned us: The revisionist parties are, therefore, giving a silent burial to revolutionary labour movement by thus confusing the working people and the people at large, by confining the trade union movement within the narrow spheres of legalism and economism. Not only this, the revisionism of this brand, in our country, has possibly surpassed all the variants in other countries, in shamelessness and treachery. They have the cheek to boastfully claim that they have been able to secure economic gains for the workers from the management without waging any struggle. In the same breath, they are claiming that class struggle has been intensified.

So, these wretched lot of revisionists want us to accept that without struggle against the management class, there may be 'intensification of class struggle' and even 'revolution'—the 'liberation of the working class' if you like. True, shamelessness and treachery have no limits for these creatures, the revisionists.

(Paraphrasing freely from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's speech on 29.10.69 published in Bengali booklet "Bartaman Paristhiti Yukta Front Rajniti O-Amader Kartabya"—Present situation, United Front Politics and Our Task)

**The Future: Remember the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**

The working class started

their struggle against the dictatorship of capital with the demand for rights to life and better social conditions. It has traversed a long way, and acquired higher sense of revolutionary ideology of its own, to come to the realisation that its real liberation as a class lies in the very liberation of the society from all sorts of exploitation of man by man and that proletarian socialist society alone provides the necessary material conditions for attainment of this goal. And proletarian society can come about only on the ashes of the present capitalist order. But in this onward march of the proletariat, social democracy propagating and practising economism-reformism within the working class movement is acting as the 'mainstay', as the 'last prop of capitalism'. That is why without making an end to social-democratism, it is never possible to make an end to capitalism.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era has imparted to us valuable teachings and guidance. Let us recall some of those teachings. On this occasion of May First, the day of renewing the pledge for peoples' liberation by the class-conscious proletariats, Comrade Ghosh has shown: The poisonous weed of economism reformism has struck deep root in the labour movement of our country. This has permeated through and through the labour movement so much so that even the ordinary workers have also fallen victim to this poison of opportunist mental make up. They are in search of those type of 'Leaders' who are in reality the 'agents' or middlemen of the management class, reared and patronised by the employers and bureaucracy. Even the workers know this. Yet they seek the 'service' of these 'middlemen' for negotiating certain concessions with the management or bureaucracy. What can be more tragic? If this be the attitude of

the workers, how can their lot be changed? Even what they say 'their God' cannot change their lot. For, this will keep you, the workers, as slaves to capitalism—slave to this exploiting productive system. By this, you as workers can never aspire, can never dream to earn your rightful position in the society as the real masters of the productive system. And history teaches us, so long the slaves remained slaves to old ideas, old habits—spiritually, culturally, they could not achieve their freedom.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, therefore, calls upon the working people of our country to shun this opportunist line of economism-reformism, this hated line of slavery that is being constantly dinned into their ears by the capitalists and their hirelings. Comrade Ghosh reminds the working people: You are to realise that the question of your real liberation from all sorts of exploitation has been inextricably linked up, historically, with the question of real liberation of the society. And this can be possible only on the fulfilment of historic necessity of abolition of capitalist motive force of production and relation of production through anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution. Only on the accomplishment of this revolution, the workers can have real proletarian socialism and not the sham socialism of the bourgeoisie and their henchmen.

But in order to achieve this, Comrade Ghosh teaches the working people: You are required to do much more than agitating in the streets on some economic demands or rights. They will be there for your day-to-day struggles. But you are always to bear in mind that to be confined solely within those demands or in

other words to confine your movement within those narrow objectives, would mean—as slaves to the capitalist exploitative production system, you do not want to bring an end to your slavery, you do not think beneath your dignity as 'Man', to remain slaves but you want to serve this dehumanising slave system only with the expectation for occasional concessions from those who exploit you.

Comrade Ghosh, has taught us—economism-reformism is curse for the working class movement and in reverse, a blessing for the exploiting capitalist class. The worker starves, but this cannot be a justification for his opportunism. The capitalist expropriates him and for this his opportunism may be worse but nonetheless the worker because he starves can never justify his opportunism. So, in the very class-interest of the proletariat, and to achieving the revolutionary goal and objectives, the workers will have to free themselves from, will have to hate, this poisonous trend of economism-reformism. Trade Unions, then, can truly become the 'School of Communism'.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, has given the clarion call to the oppressed and exploited people: **You are the real creators of civilisation. Be alive to the historic necessity of and your role in the birth of a new and higher proletarian social order. The society is in its birth pang—the new social order just waits for its birth. Only the class-conscious proletariat can bring it about.**

(Paraphrasing freely from the speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in the West Bengal Engineering Workers' Conference, Calcutta, 14th May, 1967).

## READ

1. Sarat Chandra Mullayankan Ke Sandarbha Me (in Hindi)—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Price—1'25
2. Hamari Shaikshanik—Sanskritic Samasyayo Ka Baijnani Samadhan (in Hindi)—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Price—0'50



## 28th ANNIVERSARY OF THE SUCI OBSERVED



Komsomal members parading the street in front of the Central Office during the flag hoisting ceremony

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loped, enriched and raised to a higher level is an indispensable, invaluable and powerful weapon. Just as in the era of imperialism after Marx, it is not possible to understand Marxism without knowing the teachings of Lenin, like wise in the present era after Lenin we will not be able to develop a thorough understanding of Marxism-Leninism without knowing the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

To such a party and such a magnificent leadership, the toiling and down-trodden millions owe their gratitude and admiration, love and respect, responsibility and dedication.

The noble way of observance of the 28th anniversary this year created greater and greater admiration and respect from the toiling people throughout the country. Observing this great enthusiasm and the revolutionary audacity not only in the rank and file of our party but also within the common people, a section of the reactionary forces

and vested class raised their ugly faces and tried to create hindrance by way of forcibly removing and tearing the banners and posters displaying the noble idea of, among other, i) resisting fascism, the hated enemy of humanity; ii) upholding the democratic norm and forsaken banner of democracy etc., etc.. In some places, they threatened the mobile party propaganda squads with dire consequences if they continued our ideological campaign. Furthermore, the Office of "Unity" at Quilon, our party organ in Malayalam, was raided breaking the door open at dead of night and all the belongings and party literatures and papers were taken away and six medical students of our party were lifted away bodily. The Kerala State Committee headquarter at Trivandrum too, was raided—party literatures papers and portraits of Comrade Lenin and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh were taken away. In Goalpara district at Assam, 5 members of the district committee were

lifted away bodily. In all the three cases a portion of the documents were recovered and all Comrades were freed subsequently.

On the morning of 24th April at Kalighat in Calcutta after the flag hoisting ceremony at the crossing of Rashbehari Avenue and Russa Road, when participants were returning, a group of vested forces came and tried to snatch the red flag away, but the party workers as well as the members of the public protested and resisted them and did not let them dishonour the red flags. The Morning marchers organised by the DSO at South Calcutta, were encircled and the banners and flags were snatched away from them by another group of reactionary and vested forces and attempted to lift the marchers bodily. Same such incidents took place also at Mominpur, Behala etc. of Calcutta. But every where people spontaneously stood by our party workers, supporters and sympathisers in protest against these acts of vested forces. We congratulate the people warmly for the courage they have shown and the support they have extended to our party everywhere in making the observance of 28th anniversary a great success.

The noteworthy feature of the celebration this year is the 10-Point pledge taken by the members,

supporters, sympathisers and toiling masses following the party. They took the pledge: (1) to carry on uninterrupted struggle against imperialism, the main enemy of freedom, peace, socialism and world revolution, particularly against American imperialism, the bulwark of world imperialism; (2) to extend unstinted moral and all-out support to the anti-imperialist liberation struggles of the people in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. (3) To conduct ceaseless ideological struggles against reformism-revisionism, particularly revisionism, the main danger, confronting the world communist movement, and re-establish the unity and solidarity of the Socialist Camp; (4) to carry on an all-out struggle against fascism, the most hated enemy of humanity, by forging the broadest unity of all the progressive and democratic forces: (5) to achieve people's emancipation from tyranny, oppression, and exploitation still being suffered by the people in spite of the attainment of independence from British rule, under capitalism in our country (6) to strengthen the struggle for the emancipation of workers, peasants and the exploited people on the basis of correct base political line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution with which is linked inseparably the solution of the main problems confronting our country today namely (a) modernisation and mechanisation of agri-

culture, (b) uninterrupted industrial revolution and (c) elimination of unemployment; (7) to forge the fighting unity of workers, peasants and exploited people by giving defeat to the different trends of social democracy practising reformism, revisionism, particularly revisionism under the cloak of pseudo-leftism and ultra-left adventurism, working as compromising forces, thereby disrupting and hindering the anti-capitalist revolutionary movement by carrying out ceaseless, sharp ideological struggle within the democratic movement; (8) to follow constantly and unwaveringly with all dedication the pledge of allegiance to the working class and the revolution, which can truly be realised and reflected in our country through one's allegiance to SUCI, the only real embodiment of Marxist-Leninist ideology and leadership, (9) to achieve self-respect, development and emancipation by leading a life of a revolutionary, developing creative ability, winning over fear, keeping our moral backbone strong and straight; (10) to open the vista of unhampered development of mankind by eliminating once for all the exploitation of man by man through the completion of anti-capitalist socialist revolution, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism following unwaveringly our party SUCI and the teachings, guideline and the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist thinker of our era.

Long live revolution  
Long live 24th April  
Long live SUCI  
Long live  
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.



Komsomal members taking part in Pledge reading ceremony at the Sradhdhananda Park.